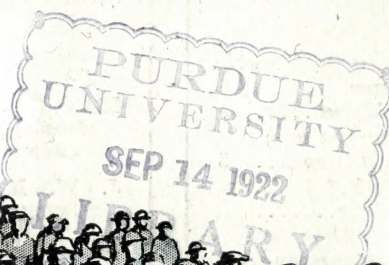


SEPTEMBER, 1922

Labor Age

20¢
a Copy



Warren G.
Harding,
Strike-
Breaker

The
Line-Up
at
Cincinnati

Building a
Workers'
Health
Defense

*Can the Unions Success-
fully Attack Dust, Poisons
and Strain?*

Published by Labor Publication Society, Inc., 41 Union Square, New York



Presenting all the facts about American labor—Believing that the goal of the American labor movement lies in the socialization of industry.

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THE POISON PIE MYSTERY

NEW YORK newspapers have lately been filled with the great "poison pie mystery." Seven people are dead and scores are deathly ill as the result of eating a restaurant-made blueberry pie in which arsenic had been mixed. The fear of another like occurrence was so great that thousands abstained from purchasing pies for days after the disclosure of the poisoning.

This happening, which threw a panic into New Yorkers, is but an incident compared to the **slow and constant poisoning of the workers through industrial poisons.** Each manual trade has its particular occupational disease. Lead poisoning and painting, for example, have

been considered inseparable for years. Tuberculosis has played havoc among workers in the dusty trades.

Workers are more and more demanding that these diseases be done away with. They are now setting on foot preventive agencies of their own. They are no longer content to leave this job to the employer, the social agency, or the municipality. This issue of LABOR AGE tells the story of these efforts to date. As unions take them up further, we will report each new development. This is part of the movement to make the union all-sufficient for its members. You can help us to get this information across to a wider and wider group. **Get your union interested!**

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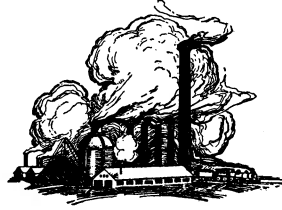
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Labor Age



Building a Workers' Health Defence

How Can the Unions Successfully Attack Dust, Poisons and Strain?

By IAGO GALDSTON

WHAT is more important to the worker than his health? Very few things, indeed. Without it, under our present scheme of things, he is absolutely lost. The machine method of making goods, at the same time has brought in a flood of new poisons to break him down.

To whom should he look for relief and protection if not to his trade union? That is the argument of several large unions, which have set themselves to guard their members from the ravages of industrial disease. Their efforts are steps along the way to the socialization of medicine. The following stories of these union efforts, and how they may be extended, are of vital interest to you and all other labor men and women.

THE sick and the poor have always been with us. Since the development of Capitalism, however, there has come upon poor pestered humanity a new poverty and a multitude of new diseases. The new poverty is that of the laboring class, which periodically suffers starvation in the midst of plenty. The new diseases are those which afflict the worker as a result of doing his job in making the things which all the world needs. **The same forces which made the workers a class apart also brought down upon their bewildered heads the afflictions of Job.**

Today, more than ever before, the trade unions are challenging the right of these destroyers—dust, poisons and strain—to do their deadly work. War has been declared on tuberculosis in the printing trades, on lead poisoning among the painters and on the diseases of the garment trades. These unions are not satisfied to leave this work to the present state. They have taken it upon themselves as an act of justice to their members, which they alone can adequately perform. It is the little beginning of a big task, which must as a matter of necessity spread to other labor organizations.

Havoc of the "Industrial Revolution"

To appreciate how the problem of the Worker's Health began, we must look back to the "Industrial Revolution," when the machine process became supreme in the production of goods. Picture what happened then. A world, largely peasant in character, was rapidly converted into a huge industrial machine. During the change thousands of homes were disrupted and thousands of human beings dispossessed of their lands. Thousands of former land owners were disenfranchised, pauperized and rendered dependent for their existence on the good graces of those who might choose to employ them.

This new pauper class flocked to the industrial centers, the towns, which the Hammonds described as "not so much towns as barracks; not the refuge of a civilization but the barracks of an industry." In this way did the slum come into being. For even the term "barrack" is descriptive of more comfort than fell to the lot of these workers. It was quite common for several families to be found living in one loft, each separated from the other by a curtain, with father, mother, and children sleep-

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ing in one bed—or all together on the floor. Food became as bad as the housing conditions. The cry of the early worker was in terms of wheat, meat, and ale—food which formerly he could enjoy even in his humblest state. Now, such as he could get was of the lowest quality, often rank and putrid beyond imagination. Epidemic followed epidemic, and thousands upon thousands of workers were spared, through death, the sufferings common to their class.

All the diseases of undernourishment afflicted the workers. Scrofula became so common that the spared worker was a rarity. Rickets distorted the worker's body, tuberculosis, typhus, scarlet fever—all the carrion diseases known to man fed upon the suffering bodies of the workers. Over and above all these sufferings came the new diseases of industry—the nervous strain and discipline of the factory, the poisons used in the production of commodities; the gases, byproducts of the poisons. It was a real wonder that the whole race of workers was not wiped out.

Dust and Poisons Spread Death

Invention followed invention, and far outran the current knowledge of sanitation and poisons. Men began to work with new elements, the injurious nature of which was unknown. Even when poisons were detected, little was done to offset their bad effects. Take the first great industry—spinning and weaving—as an example. Thread had been spun and cloth woven throughout the ages, and nothing especially injurious to the health of the craftsmen was ever noted. In the new processes, however, we find the thread spun and the cloth woven **literally out of the flesh and blood of the loom hands and weavers**. In the spinning mills the air was filled with lint and fibrous dust, the inhalation of which produced blood spitting, chronic inflammation of the bronchi, chest pains, sleeplessness, asthma and ulcerative tuberculosis. In a spinning process known as the “wet spinning of linen yarn” the worker was constantly soaked to the skin, and stood in water up to the ankles. In addition, the peculiar nature of the work produced deformities in the spine and limbs of the workers which made them appear brutish and inhuman. Accidents of the most horrifying kind were common. Lockjaw not infrequently followed upon mutilation. And pus infections were everyday occurrences.

Today, conditions may not be as grossly horrifying as they were in 1830, but they are far more serious than even the workers themselves conceive them to be. The slums are still with us, but the worker born into that crowded, filthy world, knows of no better antecedent condition with which to contrast the lowliness of his environment. In the memory of the “old times” the early workers could complain:

“Have we not seen the commons of our fathers enclosed by insolent cupidity—our sports converted into crimes—our holidays into fast days? The green grass and the healthful hayfield are shut out of our path. The whistling of birds is not for us—our melody is the deafening noise of the engines. The merry fiddle and the humble dance will send us to the treadmill. We eat the worst food, drink the worst drink, our raiment, our houses, our everything bear signs of poverty, and we are gravely told that this must be our lot.”—Hammonds, “The Town Labourer.”

But the fathers of many of today's workers—particularly in certain trades—were born in the slums, even as will be the children of their children.

Industrial Poisons at Work Today

The adulteration of food continues today as before. Ptomaine poisons, from canned food, kill on an average of 9,000 persons yearly in this country. The workers' wages, also, do not purchase any greater quantity of food than in years past. **The average income of the American worker still falls below the living standard set by the government.**

And, to add to this, **the evil of industrial poisons is greater by far than it ever was.** This evil goes hand in hand with the modern methods of production. Lead and mercury, arsenic and silver, silicon and carborundum, pumice, sulphuric, hydrochloric, and nitric acids,—**poisons poisons, poisons**, injurious to human life—must be employed in the manufacture of goods needed today. It is not the use of these destructive things that makes the present situation so inexcusable, as the indifference to the things which the worker suffers and the unwillingness on the part of those in power to protect him with the safeguards created by science. **It is, in the majority of cases, still cheaper to replace the sick worker than to guard his health.**

It must not be thought that some progress has not been made. Large industrial concerns like the Western Electric and the General Electric Companies, the International Harvester Trust, the New York Telephone Co., and the Edison interests, have developed large and ef-



DENTAL LABORATORY, UNION HEALTH CENTER

I. P. E. U. 624.

Equipped with every modern instrument needed for the protection of the teeth—in a labor union's own clinic.

ficient medical departments responsible for the health of their workers. They have installed rest rooms, sanitary wash rooms, a medical examination system, etc., etc. They are not modest in singing of these things. But the motives in every case of such health work are the motives of **Capitalism—profits**. It is cheaper, where the worker represents an investment in training, to pay the physician, nurse and sanitarian to keep the worker healthy and on the job, than to have sick workers and a large labor turnover. The worker benefits, no matter what the motives be. But the motives limit the work, and make it fail often when most needed. There comes a point where further health work is no longer profitable; and there, no matter how urgent the need is, the work stops. Also, where there is no investment in the worker—where the work is crude and unskilled—there is nothing to be gained in safeguarding the workers' health, and nothing is done.

Fifty-four specific poisons and hundreds of derivations are mentioned by Drs. Kober and

Hanson—used in no less than 630 branches of industry today. In view of these facts, what worker can feel safe at his job and who can remain indifferent to the problem of the workers' health?

The Workers Attack their Enemy

The history of the guilds and of labor unions shows that the workers were always sensitive to the suffering of their brothers, and practiced organized "mutual aid" in one way or another. Provisions for help to dependents in cases of sickness and death were made by practically all of the guilds; and as early as 1819, when workers' organizations were banned in England, we find groups of workers forming Friendly Relief Societies. In the United States the oldest benefit established by a workers' organization was that of the Society of Engineers, in 1851. Since then practically every union has one or more benefit features. The benefits given are those covering strikes, sickness, death, old age, and disability, with special provisions for the treatment of tuberculosis. The benefit sums collected and distributed by the unions

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reach into the millions. The International Typographical Union, to cite but one example, in the last nine years paid out in mortuary benefits near to two and a half millions dollars. In strike benefits, the same union paid, in the last twenty years, near to five and a half million dollars. During the same period the union spent three million dollars in the erection, maintenance, and operation of the Printers' Home, at Colorado Springs, Colorado—in the heart of the health-restoring Rockies.

Other large unions—such as the United Brotherhood of Carpenters, the Cigar Makers, Iron Moulders, Painters, Plasterers, Plumbers, and Steamfitters, Railroad Telegraphers, Switchmen, etc., etc.—add millions upon millions to the benefits paid out by the national and local unions of the country. Realizing the economic uncertainty of the worker—and the accidents of his work, the season, and strikes—they each seek to provide for these emergencies. All these measures—and this is an important thing to remember—are **merely palliative**, and in **no way serve to solve** the problem. Providing for the tuberculous individual worker does not prevent the disease; nor does supporting the sick worker keep the healthy one well. The value of these curative activities cannot be denied, and the afflicted worker who profits through these provisions must not be lost sight of; but in addition to these, preventive measures are surely needed, activities that will **safeguard** the worker against accident, sickness and death.

The Unions' Health Efforts

How much can be done along these lines is well foreshadowed by the activities of the Union Health Center, carried on by the Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Even in this case, most of the organization's efforts are spent upon "cure," and but little upon prevention. This organization, however, is still far in advance of others in safeguarding the workers' health, and if the other unions but did as much, progress in the solution of the problem should be rapid and substantial. Several other unions have also developed health work. Chief among these are the International Typographical Union and the International Printing Pressmen, with their sanitariums, and the six New York locals of the Painters, whose work is just begun. All of these activities embrace no more than a very small part of the workers' army. In order that prog-

ress may be made, the battle front must be widened and the campaign intensified.

In this campaign, first and foremost comes the education of the worker. All who have worked in the field of industrial medicine know that little can be hoped for until the worker himself appreciates the problems that confront him. All of the sources of information may be at hand, but if he will not regard them as important and make use of them, they will be of small use.

Prolong the Worker's Life!

Along with the awakening of the individual worker to the importance of his health problem goes the concerted action of the "collective worker" represented by the union. The working conditions, in terms of the health of the workers, must become as much the guarded domain of the union as are wages and hours. From my experience with union health work, I should recommend that each union have a medical department, responsible for that side of the workers' welfare. The sanitation of the workshop, the prevention of industrial poison, industrial diseases, deformity and accident, should be the work of this medical department. The education of the members on the prevention of disease and advice in case of illness should be provided for by this department. How much could be done in this way to prolong the worker's life!

Certainly, this appears to be but a mere patch on the rotten frame work of our economic system. Certainly, health work must suffer from limitations in the "profit-seeking" scheme of things. Granting those facts, health work by unions **is still** working for a fundamental change. No matter what the social plan may be, we can hardly conceive of any state in which the production of goods is not its very foundation. All the problems of production will come up—among them the health problems of the producer. These problems must be solved. **The present state is not interested, few of the employers are, but all workers must be.** In such health work as has been hinted at here, the workers can attain the solution of the health problem in industry. They will not only help their brothers and themselves, but also their sons and daughters who may live tomorrow in a world more enlightened and humane.

Protecting the Worker's Wealth

*Practical Accomplishments of the Union Health Center,
Conducted by the Garment Workers*

By THERESA WOLFSON

IT IS a far cry from the time the tailor sat Turk-fashion on a table in a dark, dirty sweat-shop on the East Side, subject to all the pains and aches that human flesh is heir to (particularly the flesh of the worker) to the present day, when the garment workers are so well organized that they think not only of their economic welfare but also of education and health. They are pioneers in both these fields. But few trade unions have built up a system of workers' education comparable to theirs. And few other trade unions realize the necessity of caring for the physical well-being of their members. Yet, **the workers' health is his wealth** and should be preciousely protected.

"Doctor, Doctor, what shall I do—from sitting at the machine all day long I get such pains in my back and in my shoulders and in my legs, I can hardly walk home at night." The complainant was an old, worn-out clothing worker, with drooping shoulders, a tired shuffling gait and a drawn expression on his face. The doctor was a young man, the orthopedist of the Union Health Center—and the Union Health Center is the Health Department of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. A relieved expression came over the old man's face as the doctor told him of things to do that would relieve and help prevent his troubles.

The splendid white building, in which the Health Center is located, is a monument to what a union is capable of accomplishing along health lines. It stands at 131 East 17th Street, New York City, and was remodeled from one of the old brown stone houses, where years ago Gotham aristocracy lived. Bought in 1920 by seven locals of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union—at a cost of approximately thirty thousand dollars, and remodeled and equipped to the tune of almost fifty-five thousand dollars,—**the Health Center is a model building as far as the physical equipment is concerned.**

It grew out of the work of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control—that unique institution, under joint control of employers and the union, which

supervises the sanitation of the garment shops. The board found, as a result of its experience, that its health lectures and supervisory work must be supplemented by clinics for the workers, where they might be treated for industrial disease. Later the unions took these clinics over and merged them into the Health Center.

How the Work Is Carried On

The Center's medical clinic is located today on the first floor of the building. There is a large waiting-room which is also used as a lecture room in the winter season. The walls are covered with charts and picture exhibits on cancer, tuberculosis, etc. There are several specialty rooms,—the ear, eye, and nose clinic, the foot clinic, the minor surgery room, and general examination rooms, in addition to a general laboratory for drug mixtures and analysis work. All of these rooms are well equipped.

The various specialists' clinics are held on definite days of the week. The eye specialist comes twice a week during the evening session. An optician is also in attendance at these sessions, so that glasses are fitted and secured at cost price to the worker. Because of the nature of their work, under the constant glare of the electric light in the shop, the workers suffer to a large extent from astigmatism and eye-strain. General negligence of eyesight is still so prevalent that it is an important part of the eye specialist's work to educate the worker on the care of his eyes.

There are other special clinics equally as important to the worker,—the gastro-intestinal clinic for diseases of the stomach and bowels is probably one of the most essential. Sitting at machine, day after day, with no exercise and little change of posture, the worker suffers greatly from constipation. In this clinic, diets are prescribed as well as simple exercises—and much is being done to overcome the indifference, characteristic of the Jewish worker particularly, to what he eats.

Special Clinic For Women Workers

Clinics for the diseases of the skin, for heart affections, for lungs, for ear, nose, and throat

LABOR AGE

are also held. A special clinic for women workers has been organized with a woman physician in charge. One of the latest and most successful clinics is the orthopedic clinic for the prevention of deformities. The number of workers who complain of the "Pains in their back" is legion—only these pains are supplemented by pains in the legs, flat feet, rheumatism, etc. The presser, standing on his feet eight hours a day, with no chance to relieve his position, is prey to flat feet of the worst type. Something can be done for him—shoes can be prescribed, strapping of the feet and ankles do help, and this the orthopedist can do.

The orthopedist, as well as every other doctor connected with the Medical Clinic, is intimately acquainted with the conditions under which the operator, finisher, presser, or cutter works and an attempt is made to prescribe **nothing that is impossible of attainment**. It is a popular failing of the average physician to tell a poor patient that he must take certain expensive medicines or go to certain expensive places—impossibilities that usually plunge the patient into the depths of despair.

And last, but not least, is the Babies' Clinic, held during the summer months, where the wives of workers can bring their babies and secure the best advice on their care—giving these workers' children such a start as their parents never had.

Healthy Workers Make a Strong Union

A young woman worker was anxious to become a member of the Union. She was told she would have to have a medical examination before she could secure her Union card. She came to the Health Center and when she was through with the physical examination the doctor told her to go upstairs and have her teeth examined. "Ach," said she, "this is America—to get a Union card to work in a shop, so they look into your teeth!"

But this incident is an index of what is being done along preventive lines by many of the Locals of the I. L. G. W. Every worker desirous of becoming a member of the Union must first have a physical examination at the Union Health Center. This ruling safeguards the workers in the shops as well as checks up on the health of the applicant. The locals pay for the examination of the applicants, which is eventually covered by the initiation fee of the worker. It is interesting to know that in the

last year, despite the great economic depression and the long period of strike, the Union Health Center has examined 5,113 applicants.

It will prove somewhat surprising perhaps to learn that, as a result, the clinic is **self-supporting**. There is no financial help received, except the fees for actual services performed. The fact that the worker can secure advice and help of specialists at a very small fee makes these services attractive. The financial independence of the Center is not without its serious drawbacks, however. If a partial subsidy were received from the International Union, the work on individual cases could be done much more carefully and less mechanically. Other needed improvements could be made in the work.

Applicants who are found to be suffering from tuberculosis are not given the health card entitling them to a Union book. Instead, if the case is an incipient one, they are given a temporary card and are requested to come back to the Health Center for frequent periodic examination. No worker can secure a working card unless he has a Health Certificate. When the physician of the Health Center is satisfied that the case is passed danger, he will issue a final health permit, which entitles the worker to a permanent book.

Cases of advanced tuberculosis in applicants are referred to other agencies for treatment and care and the applicant is not permitted to become a member of the Union. It is of further interest to note that any member of the Union who is found suffering from tuberculosis is sent away to a sanatorium or placed under the care of the Health Center physician, as the situation demands, and that the Union pays him a weekly benefit.

Looking After the Teeth

The applicant to the Union who was sent upstairs to the Dental Clinic to have her teeth examined, was surprised that the Union should be interested in the welfare of her teeth. But dental care is a thing which workers have long neglected, and bad teeth have contributed as much to the workers' sorrows as any other factor.

The Dental Clinic of the Health Center is also well equipped, with a Chief Dentist in charge, a dental assistant and six graduate dentists in attendance during clinic hours. The dental work is paid for according to the type of

work done, just as one pays one's private dentist. However, the clinic aims to give better work and more conscientious attention, than the private dentist. It has been impossible to have the dental work below the rates charged by the private dentist, for the simple reason that the Health Center, after all, is not subsidized by the Union and must pay for itself as well as for the expenses of the building, and that the Dental Clinic must contribute its share in rent to this latter fund. Approximately 2,612 patients were treated in the Dental Clinic in the last year.

Health Education-Meeting a Great Need

Before going on to the third phase of the Health Center work, it is important to realize that, with all its popularity, the Health Center has not reached the 150,000 members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in New York City. This is not due to lack of effort on the part of the Union Health Center in bringing itself before the Union members, but rather to the fact that, after all, the workers are scattered throughout the City and Brooklyn, and that it is difficult for them to come to the Health Center immediately after work, also it is because of the sheer apathy toward the Health Center and toward their own health, on the part of the workers. This apathy is the thing which must be fought, not only by those in charge of the Health Center but even by the officials of the Union.

An attempt has been made along these lines by supplementing the curative and preventive work with a successful program of Health Education. Various trade papers, Yiddish publications, etc., frequently have a question box on Health, where some physician answers questions asked as to "how to prevent pimples," or "what to do for constipation," etc. These answers are usually one sentence in length, give almost no information and bewilder the worker still further. It has been the aim of the Health Center, through the use of health lectures, health study classes, leaflets, charts, pictures, etc., to fill this gap in the life of the worker.

Union Health School and Health Lecture

The Union Health School, where a small group of workers come every week to study embryology, anatomy, physiology, is a most successful venture. The fact that clothing workers come, bring their wives, and are eager to know all about such subjects which superficially contribute nothing to the

making of a garment—the fact that they are eager to know what the subject will be next week,—has stimulated an interest in health; their own health particularly, such as no form of "Health Crusade" can possibly have accomplished.

The Friday Night Health Lectures have become an institution. These are usually illustrated by moving pictures or lantern slides, and men and women have come to realize that the health lecture is a place where they may have any of their questions answered. It will be interesting to the reader to know some of the titles of the lectures given,— "Errors of Jewish Diet," "The Human Spine and Its Diseases," "The Nervous Worker," "Psychoanalysis."

This sort of health education, in addition to the articles on health written in **Justice** (the trade paper of the Union), and health talks given in the shops and at Union meetings, results in an intensive health propaganda among workers of the industry, by people acquainted with the industry, such as is unique in the development of any trade union, either in the United States or on the Continent.

The program for the next year includes a broadening of the health education work and an enlarging of the Union Health Center. Equipment is being purchased for the establishment of baking, massaging, and similar work. This new venture will be of great help to those workers who are constantly suffering from rheumatism, pains in the back, and other afflictions due to the nature of their industries.

With all this growth, there are many problems to be solved, much room for improvement of technique, and much cooperation on the part of Union officials still needed. What is most important, there exists a great need for more and more trade unions to undertake a similar venture. For, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union will not be able to consider itself successful in the battle with disease unless the printers, the carpenters, the painters, the lead and glass workers are impressed with the great value of such work and the necessity for their "carrying on."

The Union Health Center is a unique institution. It has a unique growth and potentialities for a unique future,—for when workers will become as "health conscious as they are socially conscious or economically conscious," then indeed shall we have the beginning of a brighter and happier industrial commonwealth.

The Printers Crusade Against "T. B."

The Union Printers Home in the Heart of the Healthful Rockies

By J. W. HAYS

ON a lofty height, overlooking Colorado Springs and the surrounding plains, stands a series of imposing buildings. They face the west, and from this point we have a panoramic view of the Rocky Mountains from Castle Rock on the north to the Spanish Peaks on the south, a distance of one hundred and twenty miles. To the west the land slopes down to the city, and to the southwest to Prospect Lake. The famous Pike's Peak, Lake Manitou, with its health-giving springs, the Garden of the Gods, Glen Eyrie, and Cheyenne Canyon are close at hand. Medicinal springs, with healing waters, bubble up amid the foot-hills.

Ventures in New Things

This is not the estate of a "successful" millionaire, or an institution owned by a great business corporation. It is the retreat provided by a labor union—the International Typographical Union—for its aged and tubercular members. It is the most conspicuous of a number of benefits, **not hitherto regarded as coming within the scope of trade union activities**—which the Union has taken up, from a humanitarian and protective standpoint. There is also the old age pension department, the death benefit, technical course of instruction for journeymen and apprentices, and other departments of a beneficial nature.

Like Topsy, the Union Printers' Home has "grew," steadily and rapidly, **but unlike Topsy, it has not "just grew."**

Years of discussion on the part of the membership, numerous conferences with the owners of various sites, and much good hard work, preceded its establishment. The idea, in fact, was first put before the Union's convention in 1857. It was not till 1892 that this idea became a reality.

The thought at first was only to provide a home for the care of aged printers. The large white and red main building, which stands out above all the other buildings, was used solely for that purpose. But less than five years were necessary to show that a sanatorium for the care of sick members should be added. Tuberculosis is one of the diseases to which printers are especially liable. It is not surprising that the

ravages of this "white plague" caused many to seek shelter and care at the Home. The hospital, originally of two stories, was erected to care for these and others, suffering from the effects of their trade. By 1902, the number of applicants was so great that the convention that year decided to increase the number of rooms by adding another story.

Another "Tent Colony"

Even this did not meet the need—particularly of combatting the disease in its early stages. An experiment with tents was tried. The unique spectacle was given of **a workers' tent colony—not evicted from their homes by autocratic employers, as the courageous West Virginia miners, but by the attack of a no less ruthless enemy, Industrial Disease.** Unlike the tents of the miners (who must choose what they can get), these tents are modern and comfortable—steam-heated, lighted by electricity, securely anchored on all sides to withstand the most severe winds, with a system of electric call-bells by which occupants can speedily call a nurse. They have proved a valuable help in curing patients and sending them back to their jobs, made whole again.

"Comfort" Is the Word

Up-to-dateness and comfort do not exist in the tent homes of the patients only, but all along the line, in everything provided for their service. In the laundry and heating plant, located in its own building, the sterilizing and disinfecting apparatus reduces to a minimum the chances of contagion. There is no chance of the disease becoming aggravated through clothing used by the sick. The Home's Library is one of the most beautiful features. It contains some 10,000 volumes of all classes of literature. In its shelves can be found the 150 papers, received regularly, including many of the leading dailies and weeklies, together with several religious and literary publications. Many magazines come, also, through the courtesy of their publishers, and the Home subscribes for two copies of each of the leading monthlies. Nor have pains been spared to make the entire place as beautiful and attractive as

possible. Twelve acres are given to lawns, abounding in flowers, shrubs and trees.

Contrary to the belief of many folks, the expenses are not defrayed by endowments. Since its completion, all expenses, including cost of maintenance, have been paid from money contributed by members of the Typographical Union. The revenue is provided by setting aside a portion of the per capita tax paid monthly by the members of the Union. **It is a labor institution, dependent on no one but the Union itself.**

The Cost in Dollars and Cents

For the information of other labor organizations, it is interesting to know something of the amount of money needed to run the Home. During the year ended May 31, 1922, the expenditures from the Home were \$205,475.08. This covers all expenses in connection with the upkeep of the property and the care of all the patients. This care, it is admitted, is not excelled—if at all equalled—in any similar institution; certainly, **the amount is a modest sum for the great benefits conferred and the efficient work carried on.** When it is known that 2,716 applicants have been admitted from the opening of the Home in July 1892 to June 1922, the value of this expenditure can be more readily realized. Any member of the International Typographical Union who has been such for ten years, three of which are continuous, is eligible for admission. Members suffering from tuberculosis can be admitted at any time after 18 months' membership. The average number of residents during the fiscal year 1922 was 206; the institution being able to accommodate about 250.

Conducting the Home

How is this Union Home managed? The responsible head is a superintendent, who acts under the direction of the Board of Trustees, elected by the Union. One of these trustees is a resident of Colorado Springs. The superintendent's wife acts as the matron and both are appointed by the Union's president, with the concurrence of the Board of Trustees. The nurses and other employes, being selected by the superintendent, are directly under his supervision. The physicians are appointed by the board of trustees. This scheme of management has worked well.

If a member of the union makes application for admission to the Home and it is approved, his expenses of transportation from the city

where he resides to Colorado Springs is paid by the local union to which he belongs. When he has recovered his health and desires to return to his former location, the expense of his transportation is paid by the Home Corporation. While he is in the Union Printers' Home, he is furnished with everything he needs, including meals, medical attention, hospital service, dentistry, surgical operations where necessary, optical attention and all necessary clothing. Everything is furnished and nothing is charged for. This is done, **not on a charitable but on a co-operative basis.** Those residing within its boundaries have contributed to its maintenance and while residing there are receiving only that which is their due. Since the establishment of this institution all the members of the International Typographical Union have contributed for its buildings and maintenance the sum of \$2,700,681.03.

Adding to the Printer's Life

Has this money been of value to the union printers? This seems to be almost one of those famous "foolish questions." Let this fact speak for itself: That in 1900 the average age at death of union printers was 41.25 years, whereas in 1921, with double the membership, this average age had risen to 54.32 years. The deaths per thousand members had fallen from 13 in 1900 to 9.8 in 1921. This good result, of course, came also from the 8-hour day in the trade and from the general campaign for better sanitary conditions in the composing rooms. But this campaign owed much of its impetus to the knowledge which the membership obtained as a result of interest in the Home. Through the Typographical Journal, the official organ of the International Typographical Union, the membership is advised each month of the progress that is being made in the prevention, treatment and cure of tuberculosis, and the editors are diligent in searching for the latest and most approved thought on this subject.

The Union feels justly proud of this whole effort. It might well be looked into further by other organizations. Of it our little booklet "Facts" rightly says: "It has never been the policy of the International Typographical Union to follow. In all advance movements and achievements the printers have been in the lead. The progressiveness of the organization was clearly demonstrated in the establishment of the Union Printers Home."

Organizing Trade Unions to Combat Disease

A New Workers Health Program—the Painters the First to Adopt It

By HARRIET SILVERMAN

WHAT would you give to add a number of years to your life, and make these years freer from pain and disease? Is it worth \$3 a year? If your union could do that thing for you at that amount, would you want it done? Ask these questions of any union man, and you can be pretty sure of the reply. Six locals of the Brotherhood of Painters, New York City, have answered them by installing their own Health Department—to **fight disease by preventing it.**

These locals have taken up what is in reality a new working class health program. They believe that the barn should be locked before the horse is stolen—not afterward. They have seen their members “burnt out at 40”—victims of lead poisoning, a burden upon themselves and every one about them. They realize that industrial disease crushes men as effectively as the attacks of employers, and that both should be met and put to rout.

The trade unions of America, in dealing with their problems of health, have generally followed a different course. They have provided sick and death benefits and sanatoria for the treatment of disease, usually in the advanced stages. These measures are certainly necessary in lessening the hardships of illness or in hastening recovery. It will be pretty readily seen, however, that they are inadequate even for this purpose, and are merely negative measures. They do not prevent disease; they do not cope effectively with the problem that the worker faces. Neither measure recognizes the fact that most of the worker's diseases are caused by his work and **must be stopped at the source.**

Health is a Class Problem

The medical profession is largely to blame for this shortsightedness. It is only within recent years, particularly since the introduction of workmen's compensation laws, that medical science has taken any real steps to prevent diseases arising from industrial causes. The general policy of the unions up to date shows that

they have been unaware of how to handle this problem, and have followed the only course open to them—to pay benefits after disease has made its inroads. This not only means that the worker is seriously injured through a false sense of security; it also blinds him to the fact that **health is an industrial and class problem deserving the same place in his union program as hours, wages and working conditions.**

Labor men and labor officials can only look around them to see that the troubles which afflict their fellow workers largely grow out of their trade. **The bodies of workmen have stamped upon them the character of their labor.** Look upon any group of workers and you see bodies, misshapen by loads never intended for human backs, muscles or nerves; grey ashen faces, the results of work in industry deprived of sunlight; hearts, stomachs and lungs destroyed by fumes, foul air, dusts and poisons. Bodies are after all only so much of the raw material which goes into the production of goods.

The story of industrial disease can be well learned from the box on page 11. The figures are taken from a chart, drawn up on the basis of physical examinations made of workers in the state of Ohio. Forty-four trades, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, were represented in this study. Tuberculosis was found to be the most common trade disease. Lead poisoning, which most people identify with the painting trade, comes next. As a matter of fact, workers in at least 15 trades are exposed to this poison:

Blacksmiths, Boilermakers, Stove Mounters, Foundry Workers, Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Machinists, Sheet Metal Workers, Potters, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, Flint Glass Workers, Leather Workers, Printers and Allied Crafts, Painters and Allied Crafts, Furniture Workers, Piano and Organ Workers.

Trade unions, on the whole, are not awake to what this chart means. At the same time, Capital, always on the watch for increasing its profits, introduces new devices and materials without regard to the health of the workers. When this occurs, why should not the unions

be equipped to demand that certain conditions be brought about that will mean life to the workers instead of death?

The Menace of Benzol

Take, for example, the death-dealing Benzol, which has lately come into the rubber industry. It menaces the lives of increasing numbers of workers engaged in making tires, footwear or hose. What is this Benzol and how can its bad effects be overcome? It is a by-product of coal tar and is valuable for quick drying paints and for dry cleaning. It must evaporate in the air before the process in which it is used is completed. Workers breathe the air bearing its deadly fumes. It has been demonstrated that loss of consciousness may occur when there are from 2 to 3 parts of Benzol to 10,000 of air.

Dr. Alice Hamilton, one of the two foremost Industrial Hygienists in this country, writing in the Journal of the American Medical Association on "The Growing Menace of Benzol Poisoning," says:

"If a man is susceptible to benzene (Benzol) it takes only a small quantity to poison or even kill him. In a case described by a German physician, the kettle containing the Benzol had been empty for twenty-two hours, was washed out twice with steam and three times with cold water, and then allowed to stand all night filled with cold water. As one of the workmen went in, a strong current of air was blown in through a pipe. In spite of all these precautions, he was overcome and fell to the bottom of the tank. Several of his fellow workmen tried to get him out, but all grew dizzy and confused, and had to give it up. Finally, an engineer in a diver's helmet succeeded in rescuing him, and he was revived; but one of the workmen who had helped in the rescue died within ten minutes of inhaling the fumes."

In Ohio the death of a young woman was recently traced to the presence of Benzol in glue used for trimming hats, showing that Benzol enters the body through the skin as well as by breathing in the fumes.

How can Benzol poisoning be prevented? Experience has proven that even powerful exhausts placed close to the fumes to carry off the poison, are useless. For close work all precautions are futile, particularly in such processes as varnishing automobiles or removing shellac. What is the solution? Enforcement of existing factory health laws, or introduction of new laws? In other words, dependence upon public health agencies? If Labor intends seriously to attack the problem, this policy will not do.

Labor Cannot Depend on "Public" Agencies

The sustained propaganda and lobbying necessary for the passage of some weak law

A STORY OF INDUSTRIAL DISEASE

(Approximate Percentage of Workers Affected within a number of International Unions Affiliated with the A. F. of L.)

IRON, STEEL AND TIN WORKERS

Zinc Poisoning	... 1 to 5%
Brass Chills	... 1 to 5%
Lead Poisoning	... 1 to 5%
Ulcers	... 1 to 5%
Gas Poisoning	... 5 to 10%
Benzine Poisoning	... 5 to 10%
Heat Cramps	... 5 to 10%
Tuberculosis	... 10 to 15%
Rheumatism	... 10 to 15%
Acid Ulcers	... Over 15%

AMERICAN FLINT GLASS WORKERS' UNION

Arsenic Inflammation	... 1 to 5%
Benzine Inflammation	... 1 to 5%
Gas Poisoning	... 1 to 5%
Lead Poisoning	... 5 to 10%
Nose Hemorrhage	... 5 to 10%
Tuberculosis	... Over 15%

AMALGAMATED SHEET METAL WORKERS

Lead Poisoning	... 1 to 5%
Ulcers	... 1 to 5%
Zinc Poisoning	... 1 to 5%
Eczema	... 1 to 5%
Brass Chills	... 1 to 5%
Acid Ulcers Teeth	... 10 to 15%

BOILER MAKERS AND IRON SHIP BUILDERS

Lead Poisoning	... 5 to 10%
Tuberculosis	... 10 to 15%
Deafness	... Over 15%

INTERNATIONAL MOLDERS' UNION

Bronchitis	... 5 to 10%
Rheumatism	... 10 to 15%
Tuberculosis	... 10 to 15%

limiting the use of dangerous devices or materials shows how little public bodies are interested in Industrial Disease.

City, State and National Public Health Authorities can exercise protection on the job by enforcing present laws, or by introducing new laws for safeguarding machinery, tools, materials and work places. Within certain limits this is being done. However, with each change in political office there is a change of policy. The moment a trade requires drastic, swift action to introduce safe substitutes for dangerous chemicals, acids, paints or machinery, the question immediately arises, can we afford to antagonize the employers? Invariably the decision is against the workers. Even if public occupational disease clinics were generally established for the examination of workers regularly, they would not only be pitifully inadequate but would suffer from the defects of all

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public welfare institutions—interminable red tape—indifferent, superficial treatment—indirect contact—with the workers. There would be lacking that intimate and personal supervision which gets results.

It's the Union's Job

The problem of industrial disease is fundamentally a problem dealing with working conditions. The trade union is the agency which Labor employs to improve its working conditions. The realization that no organization but that of the workers themselves can combat exploitation in any of its forms is the premise upon which trade unions have been organized.

Who better than the trade unions of America can take up this new function, a constructive plan of action to control the causes of disease at their source—the job? Labor needs a parallel for the Rockefeller Foundation—AN INSTITUTE OF HEALTH RESEARCH. Labor possesses no laboratory for conducting experiments to discover the true nature of diseases, has no system of Health Education to teach workers to understand their bodies, and lacks the necessary machinery for providing regular physical examinations to safeguard bodies against disease.

Lacking these, Labor cannot demand that changes take place in the industry that will make industrial disease a thing of small consequence. That is **the best of the real things that will result from the union's preventive health policy**: that the workers will be spurred to take up and enforce "health demands"; to **exercise health control of the industry in which they work**.

Introducing the Workers' Health Bureau

Recognizing this condition, the Workers' Health Bureau was organized in New York City in July, 1921. The Bureau's function is to study health destroying processes in the trades, analyze harmful materials and develop health plans suited to the needs of the particular group of local unions uniting for the work.

The health program outlined by the Bureau is to be carried out in each Trade Union through the establishment of a Health Department, financed and controlled by the Union membership. The Health Department would offer all members a careful physical examination, with blood and urine tests, mouth examination and cleansing of teeth, also x-ray examinations wherever necessary.

The Bureau operates on a national scale and is supported by yearly affiliation fees of 25 cents a member from locals joining the Bureau. Affiliated trades are entitled to the service of the Bureau in establishing a Health Department, in compiling health statistics for the trade, and in preparing courses of instruction on the care of the body.

In addition to local affiliation, State conferences may join the Bureau by paying \$25 a year. Affiliated trades are entitled to representation on the executive council with voice in shaping its policies. In this way it is hoped to build up a health foundation, uniting all the trades in the fight against a common enemy.

During the first year of its existence, the Bureau has secured affiliation from two State conferences and from eleven local unions. It has just organized and set in operation the first Trade Union Health Department in the country for the Prevention of Trade Diseases. The Workers' Health Bureau supervises the departments which it establishes in order to maintain the proper medical standards. In this the Bureau is assisted by an advisory committee of experts among whom are Dr. Alice Hamilton and Prof. Emery R. Hayhurst.

The Painters' Program

The Department recently organized is known as The Journeymen Painters and Allied Crafts Health Department. It is located in room 211, at 80 East 11th Street, New York City. The Painters' Health Department, **equipped with its own laboratory and X-ray machine**, is open four evenings a week and all day Saturday. The staff consists of a medical director, dentist, nurse, laboratory technician and x-ray operator who is also a physician. Each member of the union receives a careful physical examination with urine analysis, blood tests, mouth examination and cleansing of the teeth. Members suffering from trade diseases, return to the Painters' Health Department for treatment. Compensation cases are included in the work, but the chief purpose is to **PREVENT DISEASE**. The kind of examination offered costs from \$20 to \$25 on the market. By uniting their buying power, the painters have reduced the cost to \$3.00 for the first year's per capita assessment. The Painters' Health Department challenges all organized workers to strike out for a similar health policy, aiming to destroy the industrial causes of disease.

Winning Health Through Cooperation

European Labor's Long Record of Curative and Preventive Work

By J. P. WARBASSE

Socialization: A word of thirteen letters meaning the conduct of business for service not for profits. Dr. Warbasse has been a consistent champion of the socialization of medicine—an idea not relished by the American Medical Association. Here is his account of how socialization is really being put into effect through cooperation in Europe. It means: **Service and the health of the patient first!**

HEALTH is more of an economic problem than a medical problem. Ordinarily, it is purchasable. There are experts in this field who have much skill and information; but these experts are in business and sell their wares in the best market.

Medical service can be administered by any of the methods of labor or service organization. The competitive capitalistic method is the prevalent way. Under this method, doctors, nurses, chemists and other experts who have to do with health **thrive best, economically speaking, when the people are sick.** This is neither fair to doctors or patients.

The socialistic method is coming in. Doctors and nurses are employed by the State. Where this state method is seen in operation, it is bureaucratic, impersonal, and inefficient. The syndicalist or craft profit-sharing method is also becoming very popular in the United States, where groups of doctors, unite to "get the full value of their labor." It works out at least to the advantage of the doctors, but it has no power to solve a social problem.

The cooperative method differs from all other methods in that it approaches the problem **from the standpoint of the interest of the consumer—the patient.** By this method the people organize to protect their health. It is not new, but its growth has been slow and steady.

The European Sickness Societies

In Russia the people, through their cooperative societies and the zemstvos, employ physicians and conduct hospitals and clinics as cooperative enterprises. The great sickness societies and "Krankenkassen" of Europe are such cooperative institutions. These organizations of potential patients embrace the great majority of working people. They provide not only medical care but sickness and death insurance. Their general plan should entitle them to a high place in social esteem. Unfortunately, the prejudice of the American medical profession and the commercial-

ism which runs through it prevents securing the best service for these organizations in this country. But the fundamental soundness of their principles is steadily winning against all obstacles. And the things which have been done across the Atlantic should stir unions and medical men to greater efforts here.

In Continental Europe and Great Britain the cooperative societies are promoting health agencies, with noteworthy success. The British Cooperative societies furnish beautiful examples. In some instances, when farms and fine estates have been purchased by cooperative societies, the mansion or manor house has been converted into a sanatorium. The Hamburg cooperative society, in 1918, erected a children's convalescent home at a cost of 1,000,000 marks, which yearly accommodates over 1,000 children for four weeks each. Most of the European countries have many examples of these cooperative health institutions.

Among these societies we discover that the scientific and economic aspects of health conservation go hand in hand. When the cooperative societies of Belgium, through their economic administration, secure pure milk for babies, send children on vacations from the city to the country, provide a six weeks' rest for women at childbirth, secure sick benefits and unemployment pensions for workers, they are doing things for the protection and promotion of health which rival the best that the practice of medicine is able to accomplish. It is health care in the interest of the consumers—the patients.

We have a few expressions of the distinctly medical side in the United States in the sickness insurance societies and in the cooperative dispensaries which are conducted now in some of our colleges by the student body.

The Dutch Workmen's Big Health Effort

The possibilities of true cooperative medical service is illustrated by the "Volharding" ("Perseverance") at The Hague in Holland. This is a workmen's distributive society. It has devel-

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oped a department of insurance against sickness and death as a secondary work. In 1921 it had 90,000 heads of families as members connected with its medical section, double the number of the previous year. This organization employs thirty-one doctors, several specialists, nurses, and druggists. It has a completely equipped clinic with chemists, an x-ray department, electrical treatment department, orthopedic department and an operating room. The clinic has an up-to-date laboratory for bacteriological, chemical, microscopic, and other diagnostic examinations. The three large pharmacies of the society in 1921 dispensed over half a million prescriptions. The drugs are delivered at the members' homes by a special delivery system.

Patients who are too ill to be treated at the clinic receive visits from the medical staff in their homes. Patients may receive hospital care for six weeks free, when indicated, in the beds of the public hospitals controlled by the society.

This medical department serves the members of two other distributive societies in The Hague besides "De Volharding." Each adult member pays 10 cents per week. Widows and widowers with children pay 15 cents. This provides free medical service for the whole family. The service is superior in every respect to that provided by the British government under the Insurance Act at 20 cents. Medical services and vaccination are free. The wives of members who are confined at child birth have bread free for one week and groceries free for two weeks. Each member may choose his own doctor from the staff of twenty.

In the "Volharding," upon the death of a member, his family receives a payment which varies with the length of membership. During 1920, the amount paid in death benefits was \$12,000.

The salaries paid the doctors amounted to about \$3,500 apiece, which is more than the average doctor in the United States earns where the cost of living is much higher. The total annual cost of the service in 1921 amounted to \$185,000.

The Best In Medical Science For the Workers

The buildings are owned by the society. The general clinic is in the center of the city. Patients are sent there by any of the doctors of the staff. There are united in one building all the facilities for diagnosis, which make possible the team-work so necessary for the best results in modern medical science. Experts in the various special fields bring to bear the newest knowledge, supplemented by the most modern apparatus. All

of the facilities for the effective treatment of patients are provided.

Sickness among working people has always been a very expensive matter and fraught with much uncertainty. The worker's family usually goes on from day to day without medical attendance, unless such a beneficent organization as the "Volharding" permits the family to have what science provides as its social right.

A recent law in Holland for socializing medical service may now take this institution out of the hands of the Cooperators and put it in the hands of the politicians—"which would be a pity, for while state aid may be good, the help a man can give himself is always the best," writes G. J. D. C. Goedhart, Chairman of the Dutch Cooperative Union. This opinion is more authoritative because of the fact that for forty years, Mr. Goedhart has been an official of the Dutch government.

Mr. Goedhart has told me that the quality of the doctors who are employed by the "Volharding" is the best. He asserts that doctors give better service to the members of the society than private patients receive. The most ambitious doctors desire to work for the society. They do their best work because they know they are under the scrutiny of an organized group of patients, and because they are well compensated by a guaranteed wage.

The Spanish Workers Fight Disease

Since 1904, the workers of Madrid, Spain, have maintained a health department in their cooperative society ("La Mutualidad Obrera"). This provides complete medical service for eight dollars a year for each member. There are seven clinic-hospitals in different parts of the city, each equipped with about ten beds, an up-to-date operating room, a dental clinic, consulting rooms, an immaculate tiled kitchen, and a garden for convalescents. Each has a staff of physicians, surgeons and nurses. **The drug store connected with each hospital furnishes medicines free of charge to the members, and sells to non-members at the current price.** The Cooperative Society supplies the hospitals with provisions. Each member pays 66 cents a month to the society. For this, besides the benefits of membership, **he receives free medical service, major operations, consultation and advice at any time, and burial.** The only extra cost is for gold teeth. This organization in six months gave medical aid to 21,291 people, surgical aid to 20,710, examination to 1,382, instruction in home sanitation to 1,204, assistance

Where "White Plague" Is Put To Rout

Amid These Beautiful Surroundings, Victims of Printing Trade's Industrial Disease Are Won Back to Health



I. P. B. U., 624

Main Building and Part of Lawn and Gardens, Union Printers' Home

*"FULLY fifty per cent of the patients who have the advantage of the 'tent life' provided at the Printers' Sanatorium regain their health and are enabled to return to their usual duties, made whole again," writes General Secretary J. W. Hayes of the International Typographical Union, in submitting his article on the Home. "No wonder!" we answer, when we behold this picture, and know that the scene is laid in Colorado's dry, clear climate. The success of this Home has inspired the other large printing trades union, the **International Printing Pressmen's Union**, to establish their Home and Sanatorium near Chattanooga, Tennessee. The Pressmen have also located their national headquarters and their Technical Trade School on the Sanatorium grounds. Both of these printing trade ventures are interesting examples of what unions can do for the protection of their members.*

at 797 births, and burial to 334. During the same six months its drug stores filled 82,833 prescriptions. Work of the organization is on a highly scientific basis. The service is of enormous value to the people. The character of the medical men employed is the best.

The cooperative society in Ghent, Belgium, in its clinic and sickness department "Moyson," maintains one of the best health services in Europe. I have also visited, in Paris and in many other European cities, similar cooperative clinics.

Health agencies for the people, when promoted on the cooperative principle, represent the state socialist ideal, stripped of its bureaucratic complications and made creative and free. The value of cooperative medical service is that the patient is close to the control of the society. In the case of state service the patient is far away from the

control: he is, indeed, so far away that he thinks of it as something foreign. Herein lies the critical distinction. Cooperation means local autonomy; **the responsibility, control, and administration always are at the very door of the individual member. It is "my society."** The State, on the other hand, is away off there somewhere. It is so far away that it is not thought of as "my state"—it is the state of the officials, of the politicians. When one is sick, he wants to be cared for by something close at home—something that has neighborly significance.

If there is any field in which the consumer should be the chief object of concern, it is in the social protection and care of the health. There is no movement which deserves the more wholehearted support of organized workingmen and workingwomen.

Warren G. Harding, Strike-Breaker

By THE LABOR PRESS

THE victory of the miners in a portion of the soft coal field cannot be laid at the door of Warren Gamaliel Harding, president of these United States. On that point the Labor Press unanimously agree. In fact, according to their viewpoint, he has made Messrs. Waddell, Baldwin-Felts, and other strikebreaking gentry fade into insignificance as servants of the employers.

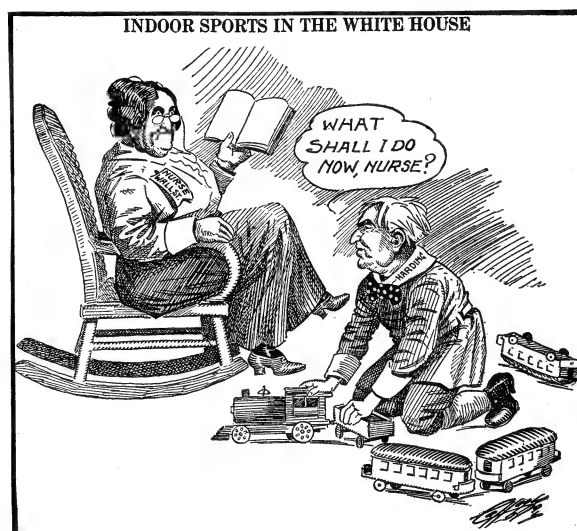
They agree with the **Oklahoma Leader** that he is "always class conscious on the side of the owners," and with the **Minnesota Daily Star** that the miners' settlement is "a double victory"—"a victory over the employers and a victory over President Harding."

When the miners refused to accept the president's impossible suggestion that they submit to an arbitration that would probably have meant a settlement on state lines, he called for the troops. When the railway executives refused his suggestion that the shopmen return with their seniority rights unimpaired, his answer was another proposal which would have placed the men at the mercy of the very Board they were striking against. Then, he began again to talk in terms of fire-arms—of course, to be directed at the strikers.

This manifestly one-sided attitude moves **St. Louis Labor** to attack the president sharply for

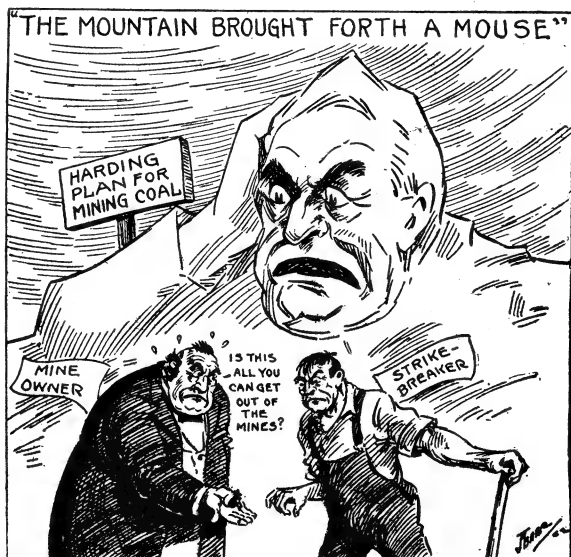
his policy of "government strikebreaking." It says:

"Within less than ten days after the 400,000 Railroad Shop Employees went out on strike, and before any disorders or riots had taken place anywhere in connection with the strike, President Harding saw fit to publish a proclamation saying that strikebreakers have the same indisputable right to work that others have to decline work, and that, therefore, it becomes the duty of the Government to give such strikebreakers all possible protection and support. He directs 'all persons from all interference with the lawful efforts to maintain interstate



Callaghan, in *Minnesota Daily Star*.

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John Baer Service.

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transportation and the carrying of the United States mail.' Like President Cleveland during the Pullman strike, he justifies his strikebreaking activities by the alleged sanctity of the United States mail and the sacred omnipotence of capitalist Interstate Commerce, for 'these activities and the maintained supremacy of the law are the first obligation of the Government and all the citizens of our country,' the President says. He should have said 'the first obligation of the capitalist Government,' because President Harding is at this time acting as the chief general business agent of the combined railroad corporations of this country. His United States Marshals and deputies are drawing the 'dead lines' at the centers of the strike and threatening to shoot or kill any one who would dare cross the chalk mark drawn around the railroad stations by said Marshals and deputies. In former strikes hiring thugs of private strikebreaker agencies were pulling off these stunts and the railroad management had to pay high prices for such thug work. Today the Federal Government is doing these little favors for the railroad companies free of charge."

But "the ruling powers are playing with fire," it adds, in taking this course; because the labor

answer may be the walkout of all the railroad workers. In a subsequent issue, this paper rejoices at the "united front" of the railroad shopmen, and at the "miserable fiasco" of the president in attempting to open the mines by force. The president's "bluff did not work," it says,

"The production of coal has not been increased, machine guns and poison gas could not drive the miners back to work, and Harding is now ready to work another bluff, which, in reality, is nothing more or less than another attempt to help break the strike for the benefit of the combined mine operators of the country."

This is being done through "the old war game": "ordering his Secretary of Commerce and the other government machinery to 'regulate' the coal distribution, just as they regulated the sugar and salt and lard distribution during the dark days of war."

The **International Molders Journal** joins in this opinion of the Government's actions, quoting Congressman Huddleston's statement that the "President's labor policy would establish slavery." The administration's industrial court proposal, the congressman declares,

"means a policy on the part of this administration which will take away the right that working men in this country have had to decide their own affairs for themselves."

The Journal declares that the proposal to the miners was of a "jug-handle" character, and says that the miners, in accepting it, would have "deliberately placed their neck in a noose."

And the newly resumed **Butte Bulletin** thinks it significant that:

"Even President Harding's appeal to the mine owners, and to the governors of the various states, to see that the mines resume operation with the American flag flying at the pit mouths, and his promise of all the military protection required, failed to bring coal out of the ground."

On "Harding's latest flop," by which the **Minnesota Daily Star** designates the presidential change on railway terms, that paper has this to say:

"To admit for a moment the right of corporations to set the strike breaker over the striker in every strike and to use the strike breaker after the strike to hold organized labor in a lower and weaker position than before, is to give up the strike, once and for all, and dissolve the unions. The insistence of the railroad companies on this point is only another way of stating that they will accept no settlement but the destruction of organized labor. Labor has offered to go back to work if the companies will yield on this point. Their refusal to yield and President Harding's virtual support of their position fixes the blame for all further suspension of transportation service and paralysis of industry on the shoulders of the railroad corporations and the president."

It also thinks that there is "a deep-seated and wide-spread belief that the railroad owners are attempting to bring about a situation which will compel the Government to take over and operate the roads." It points to the fact that under war-time control,

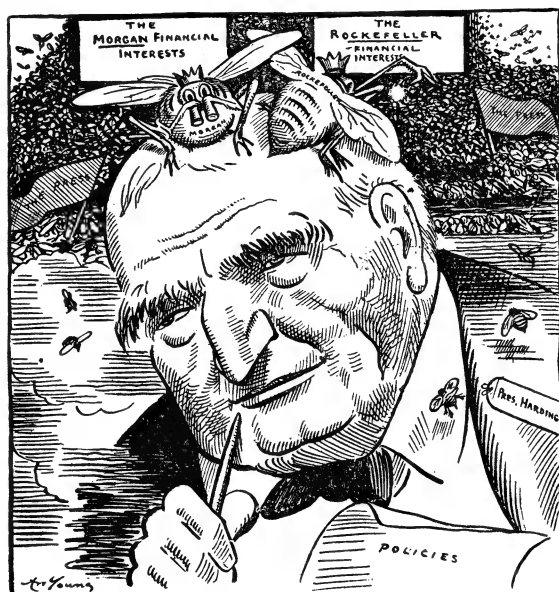
"the owners were guaranteed vast dividends, the roads were repaired and rehabilitated at the expense of the nation, and enormous loans and advances were made as a result of this delightful excursion into the realm of government operation."

The only answer to such a policy, in its opinion, is real public ownership, but it sees little hope for that at present:

"The thing that is the matter with America is that the system of private ownership of transportation has failed past all mending, and the people do not know it. They will probably pay for the repair of this broken-down system several times before they find it out."

This is also the opinion of the **Milwaukee Leader**, which states that "plutes are eloquently urging the president to use the big stick," and that "the quick and easy way to restore the service is to take the roads over and operate them." And it adds:

"An agreement should be made with the rail unions to operate them on specified conditions, forming a railroad guild for the establishment of industrial democracy in that industry. This, of course, will not be done by the present administration, if it takes the roads over at all. If it takes them over, it will operate them autocratically, not democratically."



Art Young Service.

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THE BIG BEES AND THE PRESIDENT

(Further pictorial opinions of the President's policies are expressed on page 25.)

The Line-Up At Cincinnati

An Impartial View of the Political Currents in the American Federation of Labor

By DAVID J. SAPOSS

SINCE the Atlantic City (1919) convention, there has been a gradual change going on within the American Federation of Labor. There has been a shifting and re-grouping of its elements. **Unions formerly with the "administration" are now against it, while unions formerly its arch-enemies are now the backbone of its support.** How far this new line-up has developed was shown by the happenings at the recent Cincinnati gathering.

In view of disturbed conditions, it was generally thought that disputes "within the ranks" would be avoided. The railroad unions, however, threw a bolt into the convention by announcing that they would persist in their efforts to secure representation on the Executive Council. The ground swell of opposition that followed surprised even the staunchest administration enemies. It encouraged Max S. Hayes to suggest, and personally to undertake to draft a complete slate. The idea was received with surprising accord. Knowing that a clean-cut opposition on principle would not muster sufficient votes, overtures were made to leaders with influence and large votes, who opposed the administration for personal reasons, or had personal ambitions. It was decided that either Lewis of the Miners or Berry of the Pressmen should head the ticket. Enough votes were pledged to elect such a ticket—with the support of the carpenters. There was continuous caucusing and maneuvering, but the failure of that large union to respond killed the plan.

The civil service and federal employees' unions, however, were encouraged to join with the railroad group in putting up a candidate for the Executive Council. These unions had come into their own during the war. They consist largely of post office clerks, letter carriers, railway mail clerks and other federal employees. The roll-calls on the candidates give an interesting slant on the new grouping of forces. Franklin of the Boilermakers, as candidate of the railroaders, opposed Tobin of the Teamsters. The vote was 12,543 to 18,519, Tobin being elected by a majority of 5,976. Flaherty of the Post Office Clerks was pitted against Fischer of

the Barbers, losing by 13,279 against 17,725—a majority for Fischer of 4,446. At Denver the administration majority was over 12,000. The opposition thus succeeded in cutting down the majority more than half. At Denver the opposition polled 33.4 per cent of the vote cast; at Cincinnati, over 40 per cent—a gain of more than 7 per cent. This is significant, particularly as none of the opposition campaigned prior to the opening of the convention.

No one reason can be given for the gain of the opposition. Indeed, it is difficult to follow it precisely, as much shifting and splitting was caused by strategic and personal motives. Nor did the same delegates vote for both opposition candidates. Thus the Bakers voted with the administration for Fischer, and against it by opposing Tobin. It is said that bakery wagon drivers have often failed to support the Bakers (an industrial union) in critical strikes. Similarly, the Structural Iron Workers voted against Tobin because of a jurisdictional dispute.

Why the Opposition Gained

Discounting these features, it is possible to detect several distinct things that made for the gain of the opposition. In the past the large unions controlled the Federation. Within these unions there was a powerful group known as the **Indianapolis bloc**, controlling over one-third of the votes. This was the force that counted, that always decided the issue. **Now the large unions and the Indianapolis bloc are torn asunder.** Not one important industrial group is now with the administration unanimously. Since the railroad unions, leaders of the revolt, dominate the metal trades, only a minority of the unions in this industrial division stand with the present leadership. In the printing trades the new "anti" movement has made great headway. The miners favor a change, and the civil service group is almost a unit for it. The building trade unions, however, are practically all for the present arrangement, as are also the needle trades, except the journeymen tailors. It is the larger miscellaneous unions—like the textile, stage, hotel and restaurant, street-car workers and musicians—which keep the administration

in control. Virtually one large union has now the balance of power. Had the carpenters chosen to have cast their lot with the opposition, it would have lacked less than 2,000 votes to defeat the administration. The closeness of the vote also adds greater importance to the small unions, whose votes in the past were generally of little weight.

The Old Socialist Opposition

The old alignments are clearly being discarded, and the Federation is in a state of flux. In this readjustment, **the old Socialist opposition has become an ally of the administration.** Such Socialist unions as the Brewery Workers, Ladies Garment Workers and the other Jewish socialist unions are now either counted as supporters of the administration, or as non-combatants. How far this new alliance has gone was testified to when Morris Hillquit, the administration's keenest and ablest socialist critic, was invited to aid in devising a method for counteracting the recent anti-labor decisions of the Supreme Court. Of the prominent socialist delegates of the opposition, only Max S. Hayes remains. He has shifted his allegiance to the Farmer-Labor Party and carries on his fight on the administration. Mahlon Barnes, of the Cigar Makers, was defeated and therefore absent.

Strategic, political, and personal considerations account for this new attitude of the delegates of the Socialist unions. The administration has means of hindering or assisting unions. Without its approval the Brewery Workers could not have extended their jurisdiction over yeast, cereal and flour mills in order to recoup their loss in membership caused by prohibition. In their joint and indefatigable battles against prohibition they also acquired a feeling of fellowship for the administration.

Another common meeting ground between the leaders of the Socialist unions and the administration is that both are menaced by the "one big union" element (as shown by the disruption of some machinists' locals in Western Canada), and the left wing and "boring from within" faction (as evidenced in recent developments among the New York Garment Workers' unions). Since these enemies aim to weaken both, it is natural that they should join to combat them.

The New "Anti" Groups

Two new opposition groups are now emerging. One is the direct descendant of the So-



J. M. Baer in "American Federationist."

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AS THE ADMINISTRATION SEES THE A. F. OF L.

cialist opposition in that it has a clear-cut revolutionary program. But there the resemblance ends. The Socialists were mostly interested in committing the American Federation of Labor to independent political action, preferably through their party. They strove to secure endorsement of subjects included in the party platform and requiring political and legislative action, as government ownership of basic industries, minimum wage, health insurance, etc. The new radical group does not scorn independent political action. But it is primarily concerned with the Federation as an economic unit. It finds fault with the structure and functions of craft unionism. It aims to introduce industrial unionism through federation and amalgamation of existing craft unions. This element was indirectly responsible for the resolutions on amalgamation, exchange of union cards, and the bringing of all unaffiliated unions into the Federation. The latter will be recognized as an outgrowth of left wing "united front" propaganda.

This group had no outstanding leader on the floor of the convention to sponsor its cause. Neither did it command a large vote. Since its criticism is directed at the present leaders, it can hope for little support from them unless it wins over their membership. Its vigorous leader, Wm. Z. Foster, was present as an interested spectator. At the Atlantic City 1919, and Montreal 1920 conventions James Duncan, of Seattle, led the unorganized vanguard of this new group. He was not present at the two conventions, nor did the Seattle Central Labor Union have representation.

The effective opposition is supplied by the railroad group. It has been the storm center of recent conventions. Including some of the

largest internationals, it has even divided the Executive Council and administration on big issues. Most of its interests center on issues affecting its railroad membership. This is the most recent acquisition, having been organized during the war. Before that time, only a small

TWO CONFLICTING VIEWS OF CINCINNATI THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

Communist propagandists came to the convention of the American Federation of Labor at Cincinnati, with the apparent hope of developing there the climax to years of propaganda. What communism got in Cincinnati was more than defeat—it was a rout. By an overwhelming vote the convention reaffirmed the position originally taken at Montreal and re-asserted at Denver.

* * * *

In addition to an acute industrial condition the convention had to deal with political events of the greatest magnitude. The Supreme Court had just handed down its decision in the Coronado case and this had followed close on the heels of the decision in the child labor case. The convention took bold and constructive action on the issue raised by the conduct of the courts and submitted to the country a program calling for constitutional amendments to restore the courts to their original function and to right the great wrong done by the Supreme Court to the children of our country.

Not only in dealing with the courts of law and equity, but also in dealing with so-called courts established in the fields of industry, the convention adhered rigidly to its traditionally democratic position. Concerning the courts of law and the courts of equity the convention demanded that all usurped powers be taken from the courts and adhered to the position repeatedly affirmed by former conventions in respect to injunctions.

In order to make its work generally more effective the convention adopted recommendations providing for the extension of research and information disseminating activities.

The declarations of the convention constitute a clear and sound industrial program. They point the way to an industrial organization operating in accordance with principles of justice and fair dealing and in complete accord with the highest concepts of American life and American institutions. The convention undoubtedly marked the beginning of a forward movement on the part of labor and a constant overcoming of reactionary employer influences which have sought vainly since the signing of the armistice, to restore, if possible, autocratic and imperialistic practices in the industrial life of our country.

The convention as viewed at the time was one of unusual significance, characterized by great unity of thought and by a more than characteristic determination. Viewed from the standpoint of the future, it may be found to have marked a great turning point in American industrial history.

THE LABOR HERALD

Never was a labor movement in more dire straits than ours is now. Viciously attacked politically, industrially, and every other possible way, it is literally backed up against a dead wall fighting for its very life. Yet in this supreme crisis its leadership is utterly incapable of even thinking clearly upon the situation, not to speak of doing anything vital to remedy it. To those who have hopes of some day seeing the working class master of society, the recent A. F. of L. convention was a tragedy. Faced by a multitude of grave problems, the solution of which would have required a conscientious overhauling of the labor movement from the top to bottom, it did nothing but play politics, mumble patriotic phrases, and run around in the same old circles, which are responsible for its present desperate plight. The Cincinnati convention was the most spineless, visionless, hopeless affair that has ever been staged even by the hard-boiled A. F. of L.

(Between these two views is that of the "effective opposition," as Mr. Saposs states. The viewpoint of this latter group is also much the same as that of the "socialist" unions, now allied with the administration—largely through the attack upon their leadership by the "left wing.")

number of shopmen and other railroad workers were union members.

Naturally, the old membership is accustomed to the old procedure and has become habituated to follow its leaders consistently. The new organized workers, being unacquainted with prevailing union practices, cherish none of its con-

cepts and traditions, and are open to the ideas of outsiders. Since unorganized workers are more easily reached by socialistic than union propaganda, they are generally prejudiced against craft unionism, and are more sympathetic towards militant industrial and political philosophies. By supplementing prosaic collective bargaining with "ultimate aims," these philosophies introduce idealistic and emotional features especially appealing to new converts and workers poorly or entirely unorganized. Many of the doctrines are also more in harmony with the experience of unorganized workers. To the old unionist who was brought up to take pride in his craft, craft unionism is the living symbol of his status. The railroads, employing thousands of workers in their shops, have found it advantageous to ignore craft lines. New processes and machinery also contributed in wiping away craft distinctions. To workers brought up in such surroundings craft lines are incidental. They see themselves as railroad workers under one management.

The obstructionist tactics of the railroad managements and their successful defiance of the Railroad Labor Board rulings only stirred the workers and their leaders into more energetic action. This condition culminated in the demand for government ownership of the railroads with representation on the management of all groups affected. It also prompted the leaders to initiate a labor political conference, to secure united political action.

The opposition elements which have cast their lot with these railroad unions include the remnants of the old Socialist group, the adherents of the new Farmer-Labor Party, and "progressives" in general believing in independent political action, a more cohesive trade unionism, and more assertive economic action. This combination differs from the "boring from within" fraction in that it does not advocate "revolutionary" doctrines. The latter, however, supports the candidates of the former and its measures, generally aligning itself with the railroaders against the administration. This action does not deter the "boring from within" elements from severally criticising the elements composing the effective opposition, and even supporting opposition candidates against the leaders, as it did in the recent election for officers of the machinists. The cleavage between these two groups is, indeed, almost as great as the line that divides them both from the present leadership.

Adrenalin And Character

The "Kicks" That Come From Our Dispositions and From Danger

By PRINCE HOPKINS

SOME people can get a kick out of just their own emotional dispositions; others need to have the kick forcefully administered by a real and present danger. The result is that we have to note in folks: first, whimsicalities of temperament, their own emotions; and, second, instinctive reactions, by retreat or aggression, in situations of danger.

Our emotions have been found by Sherrington, Cannon, and other experimenters to be accompaniments of the secreting into our blood of fluids, by certain glands. **Adrenalin**, the secretion from perhaps the most important of such glands, is a powerful stimulant. Under its effect we move like a steamship under forced draft. If artificially extracted from the glands of one animal and injected by means of a syringe into the veins of another animal, it produces the same symptoms in him as if the fear or rage had been roused in the natural way.

Adrenalin enables us to make a tremendous effort for a limited time, after which we pay the penalty in physical and mental "let down."

Some persons suffer from a let-down physical condition normally—anaemia. Others normally from a let-down condition of will—aboulia. The frequent cause of either of these conditions is the failure of the adrenal gland to perform sufficiently its stimulating function. Similarly, types of mental disorder characterized by alternate very low and very high spirits, are closely connected with irregular functioning of this gland.

The Four Temperaments.

Variations between different people in the type of their glandular response are largely inborn. On the basis of such differences, explanation is made today of the old idea of "the four temperaments." The phlegmatic temperament is thus pretty fairly explained as due to the fact that when confronted with a situation calling for action, a person's adrenal gland gets into action slowly and feebly. The sanguine temperament, by his gland secreting quickly though still feebly. The melancholic temperament, (we think less happily, if the old meaning of the word be retained) by glandular response being slow but eventually strong. Fourthly, the choleric temperament is that in which the gland secretes at once very quickly and very powerfully.

"The four temperaments" (with some change in meaning of the terms) are thus on the way to being established as a fairly scientific classification of human types. This has not been so well done in the case of such other divisions as conservative vs. radical, doctrinaire vs. opportunist, and others one thinks of, including even the classification of people recently made by the noted psychoanalyst, Dr. Jung.

An appreciation of types among our acquaintances and fellow workers helps us to choose men more effectively to carry out our commissions. At the same time it helps us judge how much weight to attach to their expressions. When an exhaustive study is to be made of some topic or when a diplomatic mission is to be embarked on, the phlegmatic man may do better by us than the choleric, but if an emergency is upon us where enthusiasm must be aroused instantly and a big meeting organized, the choleric fellow is more our man. In reports or statements submitted, we may generally discount something for the pessimism of the melancholic type, and equally for the optimism of the sanguine.

The French and English Troops

In the late war, generals took note of such differences, employing French troops, for instance, to make an impetuous advance, and replacing them with English when an especially stubborn resistance to German onslaughts was needed. Not always with equal wisdom, however, did allied "statesmen" afterward take into account the national characteristics of the peoples with whose form of government as well as their boundaries they chose to meddle. In such meddling, the supreme blunderers were our own blessed American politicians, who imagined they could force 200,000,000 Russians into mimicry of the form of government which has been tried (and found wanting) in our own country.

The workers can take warning from this. In the day when they overthrow capitalist institutions in this and Teutonic and Latin countries, it is not well to assume that the most workable substitute will be in every detail similar to what suits a Slavic people. The relative advantages of communism, socialism, anarchism, cooperation and syndicalism are not all theoretic, but depend on how far each system is adaptable to the eco-

nomic and psychological conditions prevailing at a given time and place. And among such conditions, an important one is temperament.

An interesting field of study lies here for someone—that of determining what form of organization is likely to fit each group. It is obvious at the outset that we must not choose our groups narrowly by the vertical cleavages of nationalistic divisions. The French peasant with his petty type of thrift will very tardily enter into the syndicate of the French factory workers. The English professional man with his strong feeling for personal rights will require a different organization from those English workers whose leaning is toward communism. When Russia comes into calmer days she will surely find it advisable to concede rights of self-determination to various groups—anarchist, dissenting socialist, and others—which have already been disaffected by the uniformity of political order that the times forced onto them. In any country, those who follow a specialized line of work have more traits in common with their co-occupationists in some other country—say an American coal miner with a German coal miner—than with their fellow citizens in a quite different kind of work—American coal miners with American physicians, say. This partly because occupations mold men into types, but also because men starting with different temperaments tend to fall into different occupations.

The Coward and the Bully

The two reactions to danger, retreat and aggression, are more closely connected than at first appears. Aren't the coward and the bully notoriously the same? When a man is very aggressive, you may take this as an almost sure sign that he's trying to protect himself from a consciousness of inferiority. When a boss is arbitrary in handling his employes, this may be an unconscious "compensation mechanism" to hide from himself the unpleasant fear of their growing power through organization, just as the ostrich with her head in the sand shuts off the unpleasant sight of her pursuers. The ignorance you will find among otherwise extremely well-informed capitalists, of facts about the masses which threaten their privileges—a **degree of ignorance and misinformation that is almost unbelievable in its widespread character at this late day**—must be a similar unconscious evasion. They evade unpleasant conscious qualms as to how long they can hold their privileges, in face of the power of the advancing organized workers.

The important thing really is, that whether the decision be for retreat or attack, it must be executed with vigor. The breeds of animals whose members have survived such situations and left offsprings to inherit their qualities, are those in whom there is a special mechanism redoubling, in moments of danger, their ordinary energy. The principal part of this mechanism (and now we can understand what use it has and why it exists) is the adrenal gland. On occasion, this pours into the blood a secretion which fires us to extra-strenuous exertion. We feel its effect as "terror" or as "rage."

Retreat, in the animal world, may be in the nature of precipitate escape, or of some form of feigning or subterfuge whereby an enemy is thrown off the scent.

It is in the former type that the outpouring of glandular secretions is more notable. Soldiers retreating from the danger zone of battle are at first stimulated and sustained by fear; then when they have reached the zone of safety, they sink to the ground, and the after effects of over-exertion may be slow to leave them. Fear similarly nerves the whole nation to unsparing efforts at self-defense, of which the effects appear, mostly much later, in physical, mental and moral fatigue.

While such a state of terror holds sway, the inflamed public mind craves opportunities to lose itself in forceful, self-assertive, cruel actions. Moderates and pacifists who preach to it at such a time are like persons who snatch their whisky from a drunkard's hand. To attain their end requires caution, tact and moderation greater than many possess.

"Without Fear"

In fact, it is only a fool who is without any fear. The very fact that no animal has survived to this day without a strongly developed mechanism of fear, is evidence that this is a good and serviceable instinct so long as we fear the right things. Fear has its proper place in life. In times past animals who lacked it were gobbled up.

We should fear ineffectiveness. We should fear disease-breeding germs. We should fear excess.

It is even wholesome to hold public opinion in a (properly subordinated) fear. As we shall see as we go a bit further, secrecy and "underground" methods breed blatancy and unreliability of utterance. Also, **things done in the dark bring a host of evils in their train**. For the workers, aggressive organization in the open is the policy that deserves support.

Labor History in the Making

In the U. S. A.

LABOR DAY

As another Labor Day rolls 'round, the American workers find themselves still under fire from the "open shop campaign." As President John Lewis of the Miners states in his Labor Day appeal, "There are in America certain powerful forces that are determined to break down every vestige of organized labor and erect in its place a gigantic autocracy." This anti-union war is now extended into the mining and railroad industries. The miners have won a smashing victory in the soft-coal fields. The issue on the railroads and in anthracite is not yet decided, a "finish fight" being the prediction of both sides. Upon the outcome in these two industries depends much of the immediate future of organized labor in America. Not only because all other industries depend upon these two, and not only because the issues involved go to the very root of the existence of organized labor; but also because from the workers in the mines and railroads has come much of the demand for socialization of their own industries and for the adoption of new measures, such as co-operation, labor banking and a more efficient labor press.

The Wall Street Journal writes jestingly, "A third strike and we are out." If the Railroad Brotherhoods produce a third strike in their threatened walk-out, Wall Street will undoubtedly be down and out in the present labor disputes—and Wall Street's Marionette Government also. The miners showed what solidarity could do by winning in soft coal, with that Government and its armed mannikins against them—though the price of the victory was the breaking up of the historic "Central Competitive Field Conference." The needle trades, by a solid front, have practically destroyed the "social shop" evil. Civil liberty through the country, however, is groggy—meetings being broken up and labor men arrested. Both the coal and shopmen's strikes have been marked by violence and repression on the part of the authorities and employing interests.

THE SHOPMEN'S FIGHT "FOR ALL LABOR"

"THE strike is won! Don't slow down!" was President B. M. Jewell's latest message to the "gallant shopmen," as *Labor*, organ of all railway unions, terms the striking workers. It is a title which these workers richly deserve; for they are fighting the battle of all organized labor. The railway executives—following the dictation of L. F. Loree (always known as a Bourbon of the Bourbons)—have made the question of seniority the issue of the strike. They insist that they will not settle, unless the strikers completely abdicate on this point and give up these rights to "the faithful employees" and strikebreakers. Victory for the roads in this position would mean a terrific blow at all rail organizations.

"It is a fight to the finish," spokesman for the executives declared both before and at the New York conference with officers of the Railroad Brotherhoods, who sought to act as mediators. Jewell, answering for the men, stated that he welcomed a shown-down on that issue. In the meantime, the equipment is rapidly getting into bad shape—that being the cause for the Brotherhoods coming into the picture. Members of their organizations—engineers, firemen, conductors, trainmen—all over the country, refused to take up engines and cars liable to wreck. They also objected to the presence of armed guards, who had killed several of their men. The brotherhoods carried their grievance to the White House—which had already shown its complete subserviency to the railroad interests. Chairman McChord of the Interstate Commerce Commission also called the President's attention to "the progressive deterioration of motor

power upon certain of the important carriers of the country." The President answered, saying that the law ought to be enforced and the carriers prosecuted. But Mr. Daugherty, the Attorney-General, is apparently too busy making statements about the I. W. W., chasing "Reds" in Michigan, and raiding William Z. Foster's office for evidence of a conspiracy to derail trains—probably to discover the spikes which the roads claim were taken out of the ties in a certain fatal wreck!

What the Strikers Face

Joliet, Ill., was the scene of the first walkout of members of the Big Four Brotherhoods, who refused to work unless state troops were removed. Their action was officially sanctioned by their international officers. The Chicago *New Majority* gives the following account of occurrences leading up to the calling of the troops:

Bitterness among the striking shopmen had been engendered for some time by the advent of imported gunmen and high power automobiles brought to Joliet by the railroads to guard scabs on their way to work. Saturday morning before the Monday tragedy, Pat McCarty, a striking boilermaker who was on picket duty near the penitentiary was shot from above. It has not been learned who attacked him. But the strikers were aroused over this occurrence. Both the mayor and sheriff had been warned by officers of the strikers that trouble would arise if the gunmen were allowed to remain in Joliet. It is said that both the sheriff and the mayor promised to eliminate the cause of the snoopmen's complaints.

Monday morning a group of men and women gathered in front of the home of a scab with the purpose of dissuading him from going to work. The strikebreaker's name was Fred Nelson, a painter foreman and a member of the supervisory mechanics' union. He had been told by his own organization to cease working but he remained despite the warning. Nelson refused to talk to the strikers or to give any reason for his continuing to work. Instead he telephoned for the sheriff who arrived shortly with a number of deputies. It is reported that the sheriff waved a revolver around at the crowd telling them to "Get the hell out of here." Singling Lavino, an Italian, out, he called him a "god-dam wop" and ordered him to move. Lavino was not armed but it is said that he went home and returned with a gun. There are said to be affidavits to the effect that the sheriff fired into the crowd and the shooting commenced. Lavino was shot in the back and was killed while a detective of the railroad, Philip Reitz, who had come with the sheriff was also killed. Sheriff James Newkirk was seriously injured.

Sheriff Newkirk who has served in his present capacity since 1918 is well remembered in Joliet for his record during the steel strike of 1919 when he was instrumental in importing gunmen to terrorize and persecute strikers.

The district in which Frank Lavino lived and in which the tragedy occurred is on the outskirts of Joliet near the Elgin, Joliet and Eastern railroad yards. It is an humble neighborhood crowded with the rickety little houses the rail workers are forced by circumstances to live in. There are clean little back yards and patches of gardens, the instinctive attempt to make a home out of what has been allotted to them.

Frank Lavino was a blacksmith. He had come to this country since the war and had seen honorable service in the Italian army. He was a loyal and enthusiastic member of the union and was considered one of the liveliest wires of his organization. Thus it was he entered upon life as an American citizen loyally supporting an

American standard of living. He was married and had two little children. His third baby he will never see. For his support of America and its ideals of liberty was visited upon him the oath of "god dam wop" from a self-termed "100 per cent American," and a shot in the back which snuffed out his life.

This gives a glimpse of what the shopmen have to face. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has made a special appeal for financial assistance in their behalf. LABOR AGE readers should be the first to respond. Send all money to Frank Morrison, Secretary American Federation of Labor, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C. The gift is not for the shopmen alone, but for all organized labor.

SIXTY MILLION TONS SIGN UP—AND THEN SOME

WHILE the striking shopmen have been battling for their lives, the miners have won the sweeping victory predicted in the last issue of LABOR AGE, at least in the soft-coal fields. "The United Mine Workers of America have won their strike in the bituminous fields and achieved the greatest victory ever won in an industrial struggle," declares the **United Mine Workers' Journal**, in announcing the Cleveland agreement to its membership. "After twenty weeks of valiant fighting the United Mine Workers won the strike on every point involved."

Operators representing at least 60,000,000 tons of annual output signed this agreement. This is a small tonnage compared to the total of 225,000,000 for the entire "central competitive field" and 500,000,000 for the whole industry; but it broke the ground for a similar surrender on the part of all the operators. The effects were seen in the signing up of the Indiana and Illinois operators a few days later and immediate negotiations on the part of outlying operators, such as those in Utah.

The terms of the Cleveland settlement in brief are as follows:

1. Continuation of the old wage scale and working conditions until March 31 next.
2. A national conference representative of the entire bituminous industry to meet in Cleveland, October 2, for the purpose of the appointment of a committee of operators and miners to formulate methods to be followed in the negotiations of a wage scale to become effective April 1, 1922.
3. The selection of a fact-finding commission to investigate the coal industry in all its phases. The committee to be appointed at the Cleveland conference, October 2, and to be approved by the President of the United States.
4. The above committee to submit its report to a joint conference of operators and miners to be held January 3, 1923, at a place to be selected.

These terms mean that after 137 days of strike, the miners have held their wages and have kept the check-off unimpaired. They have done this, in the face of a united opposition and a hostile government. No wonder that West Virginia miners are reported to have gone back to work with songs on their lips! The victory is due largely to four things:

1. The sheer industrial strength and solidarity of the organization (greatly aided by the fact that the union includes all workers in the industry); 2. An effective campaign of publicity on fact-finding, so that "non-combatants" grasped the real issues in the struggle, and understood that their interests were at one with the miners; 3. The strike of the shopmen, which tied up the transportation from the non-union fields, particularly those of West Virginia and Kentucky, and thus increased the coal famine; 4. The splendid response of the hitherto non-union miners, who came out in unexpected numbers. (It is interesting to know that the central Pennsylvania anti-union operators are trying to tempt these men back by a promise of slightly higher rates than the Cleveland scale.)

Immediately after the Cleveland conference the anthracite (hard coal) operators extended a "cordial invitation" to President Lewis of the Miners for a conference in Philadelphia to arrive at a settlement of the strike in that field. The conference broke up without

WHICH STANDS BY THE PUBLIC?

IN every great strike, there is always a large amount of talk about the interests of the "public." The business press makes it appear as though the workers in every dispute were plotting against all the rest of their fellows. What are the facts? Let the attitude and acts of capitalists and workers speak for themselves. In the mine dispute, for example:

THE MINERS

(From "Facts," address of John Brophy, Chairman, Nationalization Research Committee of the United Mine Workers of America, before Public Ownership League.)

We believe in intelligently planned industry. We believe the only method for the intelligent organization of this industry is nationalization. The employers disagree. In order to arrive at a decision we ask them to submit the facts to the American people, the only jury that has a right to pass judgment on the case. Only in this way can a sound judgment be given.

We miners stand for nationalization of the coal industry, and as a first step we ask the co-operation of the American people in securing a centralized, continuous and compulsory fact-finding agency. In demanding this I am talking as an American citizen. I am putting the interest of the people of this country above the interest of one class of workers. It is in the interest of the great class of American coal consumers that as a representative of the United Mine Workers of America I ask you to urge Congress to pass immediate legislation for a fact-finding agency.

THE OPERATORS

(From Robert W. Bruere's new book, "The Coming of Coal.")

In 1914 the coal operators of Illinois and Indiana issued a **STATEMENT OF FACTS** for the enlightenment of the Government and the people. The normal state of the coal industry, they declared, was such as to "endanger the lives of the miners, waste the coal reserves, and deprive the operators of any hope of profit." They therefore appealed for "appropriate and definite governmental control" to the extent "at least of permitting all their activities to be known to the public." They thus approved of the action of Congress in creating the Federal Trade Commission. * * * But after the armistice, the organized operators of the nation, through one of their members, secured an injunction restraining the Federal Trade Commission from prosecuting its work of investigation and publicity, the effect of which was to render the Federal Trade Commission Act null and void so far as the education of the public with respect to the coal industry was concerned. In the language of a senator, this action "tied the Government's hands and poked out its eyes."

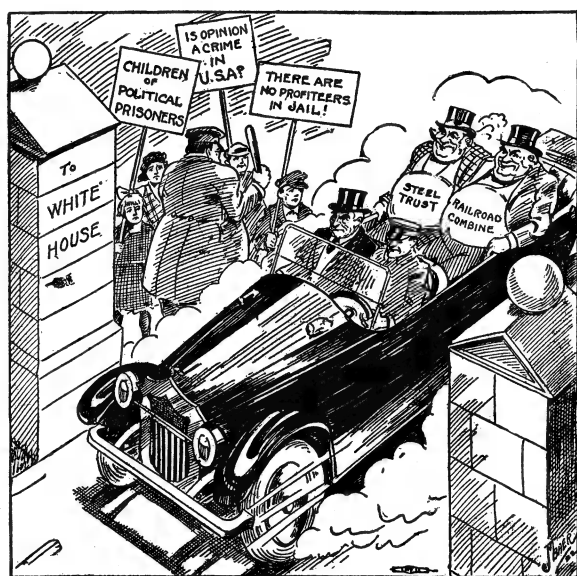
In 1921, the organized operators of the country, feeling that they could conduct the industry most successfully without governmental supervision or the security of informed public opinion, opposed all attempts at legislation designed to accomplish the precise ends which in 1914 the operators of Illinois and Indiana regarded as essential to the best interests of all concerned.

agreement, however. The operators insisted on "arbitration," with the so-called "public" represented. The miners remembered too vividly the experience of the rail workers before the Labor Board, and other like "arbitration" proceedings—in which the "public" always votes with the employers. **They refused to be caught in that trap**, and will not settle until the operators come to their point of view! That the decision shall be made only by those whom it will effect.

One result of the miners' victory was the announcement by the **United States Steel Corporation** that it would advance the wages of its men. That anti-union leader of the "open shop" forces evidently fears growing discontent. The royal sum of 36 cents per hour which it gives its laborers is higher than that awarded the workmen by the Labor Board!

A splendid example of solidarity was given by the **International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union** in voting \$100,000 to the miners' strike fund. The garment workers thus gave of some of their own prosperity to their fighting brothers.

A CONTRAST



J. M. Baer Service.

I. P. E. U., 624.



Minnesota Daily Star.

I. P. E. U., 624.

President Harding's attitude toward the children crusaders for Amnesty and toward the "Masters of Industry." These cartoons speak for themselves.

DEATH TO THE "SOCIAL SHOPS"

IN the needle trades the unions have uniformly advanced their trenches, with comparatively small opposition. The cloak makers, by referendum vote, overwhelmingly ratified the new agreement with the employers, by which the workers hold all their war-time gains. Of the 24,000 members voting, 92 per cent upheld the officers of the Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. The pact, accordingly, went into effect. Immediately the union announced that the "corporation" or "social shop" must be destroyed in the cloak industry. Thirty thousand cloak makers walked out, for the purpose of securing the consent of the manufacturers to the elimination of these shops—adding to the 40,000 members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and 5,000 members of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' Union, who stopped work for the same reason.

These shops have sprung up since the unions have secured a better grip on the industries, being established by two or three or more workers, who work longer than the union hours and pay less than union wages.

All three unions won a quick victory in New York. Practically all of the shops agreed to the union conditions within a few weeks. "There are still a few small shops and some social or 'corporation' shops on strike, with a total of about 100 people," **The Headgear Worker** reports for the cap makers, "but these few shops are of no importance and have no effect upon the trade, and the Union has no intention to settle with them unless they will prove that they can exist as legitimate shops keeping up the same Union standards and conditions that are prevailing throughout the trade."

This success has been followed by "stoppages" of work in Philadelphia, Montreal and Baltimore, to secure the same results for the Amalgamated in those places. The

Philadelphia battle has been bitterly fought—the workers winning step by step despite the free use of police, armed guards and the injunction by the employers. An "open shop" Manufacturers' Association has been formed by the die-hard corporations. But by the middle of August 93 houses had settled up, and the morale of the anti-union forces was much weakened. During the fight, a certain local judge, Rogers by name, made himself conspicuous by declaring that the Amalgamated "should be driven out of all existence as a menace to the nation." (Which led the Citizens Non-Partisan Political Association, of which Clinton S. Golden of the Machinists is secretary, to advise Mr. Rogers that his "undignified conduct and lack of judicial pose" could not but "result in undermining the faith of the people in the integrity and honesty of the courts.")

CONFERRING "COOPERATIVE UNIONS" THROUGH COSSACKS

IN TWO cities—Chicago and Buffalo—the campaign against the workers has spread from the mines and railways to the street car employees. The Chicago surface men were offered a 25 per cent cut in wages by the management, and answered with a strike vote of 12,149 to 37. During the early days of August the "windy city" was completely tied up, so far as rail transportation was concerned. A compromise, however, was effected, and the men returned to work, accepting a 10 per cent reduction.

In Buffalo the fight is an out and out "open shop" struggle. Mr. T. E. Mitten, who has "conferred" the so-called "cooperative" union on the Philadelphia carmen, is bringing the "benefits" of that plan to Buffalo. It is interesting to know that the wages of Mr. Mitten's company union in Philadelphia are based on the wages

LABOR AGE

which union men win in Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit and Buffalo. He has tied up the company union's funds by using it to purchase the company's stock, thus going the Steel Trust one better.

Governor Miller, of New York, went to Mr. Mitten's aid by sending in the State troops to assist the police against the workers. The result was a reign of terror, which made Buffalo, according to the *New Age*, "no longer a free city in a free commonwealth," but more "like a city on the Rhine, under the Allied forces."

Even business men protested against the acts of the state police—and Governor Miller consequently withdrew them. The New York State Federation of Labor scathingly denounced the Governor for the use of these "Cosacks." **The strike is still on.**

THE MISUSE OF A NAME—AN AUSPICIOUS BEGINNING

IT IS not only the employers who are misusing the name "cooperative" to deceive the workers. The Cooperative League, which has so vigorously exposed the "Cooperative Society of America," has now turned its guns on the Llano Colony experiment in Louisiana. In its August issue, *Cooperation*, organ of the League, denounces the colony as "neither cooperative or democratic," and states that "reports show that the management is autocratic, domineering and unjust."

"The colony," it says, "will continue to live so long as people keep on putting in their \$1,000 apiece. When this inflow of money stops the bubble will burst. We only beg the victims not to exclaim: 'Another Cooperative failure!' . . . The important thing to make clear is that such schemes as this colony are not a part of the Cooperative Movement."

This charge is a very serious one indeed, and is of particular importance because the colony idea has appealed strongly to certain sections of the labor movement. In pleasing contrast is the news of the opening on June 28th of the **Cleveland Cooperative Dairy**—based on the

successful operation of the Franklin Cooperative Creamery in Minneapolis. Both of these enterprises are the answer of the consumers and workers of the two cities to the arrogant milk dealers who locked out their employees last year. Twelve hundred consumers, 15 labor unions and 3 cooperative societies subscribed about \$30,000 to the capital stock of the Cleveland concern. It is a further step forward of the vigorous cooperative movement in Cleveland.

THE A. F. OF L. TAKES UP WORKERS' EDUCATION

ONE of the significant features of the recent American Federation of Labor convention almost entirely overlooked, was its strong endorsement of the workers' education movement. For some time the Workers Education Bureau—the pioneer American agency in this field—has been working under a cooperative agreement with the American Federation of Labor Educational Committee. The A. F. of L. Executive Council, at the Cincinnati meeting, declared that "the value of that cooperation was undoubted," but that "closer unity should exist in order to give greater strength and added support to the movement." While negotiations to bring about this unity are still pending, the Council expressed the belief that within a short time arrangements would be completed "whereby this vital service can be placed at the disposal of the American labor movement as an organic part of it." The convention also endorsed a sweeping resolution favoring "labor adult education," introduced by the Ladies' Garment Workers' delegation.

It will be interesting to watch the further development of the agreement between the W. E. B. and the A. F. of L.—particularly the disposition which is made of the non-affiliated unions, such as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.



P. and A. Photos.

I. P. E. U., 624.

LOOK AT THIS TIE-UP IN THE YARDS AT JOLIET, ILLS.
Where the members of the "Big 4" Brotherhoods have joined the striking shopmen

Happenings Abroad

IN A NUTSHELL: Europe is still breaking and crumbling. Labor bears the burden of the destructive process. Another winter of suffering and death faces the workers in many countries. Even a number of leaders of British Labor—the strongest trade union movement in the world—have proposed a 10-year “Industrial Truce,” to allow for reconstruction. With the breakdown in the “United Front” effort, division everywhere is weakening the movement and burning up its energies. But the Italian workers gave a remarkable demonstration of solidarity in their General Strike of protest, under the guns of the Fascisti.

In Soviet Russia—despite the protest of leaders like Debs and Anarchist groups almost everywhere—the Social Revolutionaries were condemned to death for “counter-revolutionary activities.” Leniency was promised, only on condition that they would amend their ways. Under the depression, the cooperative movement seems to have held up better than might have been expected. Despite the chaos, it is significant to note that the demand for a fundamental change is still voiced by almost every group of European Labor.

AN INDUSTRIAL TRUCE?

INDUSTRIAL peace proposals have been in the air in England for some time. Frank Hodges, General Secretary of the Miners, has come out for a so-called “Industrial Truce”—under which the employers and workers will cease hostilities for ten years. Arthur Henderson, the leader of the British Labor Party, has endorsed the idea; and it has been pretty favorably received through the British Labor Movement. The **Labour Monthly**, however, derisively attacks it as “the culminating betrayal of a long history,” declaring it to be the beginning of a “new subjection” which the capitalists are preparing under the name “of the New Social Order.” That the employers feel well entrenched industrially is shown by the continued wage-cutting—in the printing trades, for example, and among the “engineers” (machinists) as a result of the trade union rout over the question of shop control.

The annual meetings of the **National Union of Railwaymen** and the **Miners' Federation**, both held in July, showed the present leaders firmly in control. The latter union agreed with its executive officers that it was not opportune to consider the termination of the present wage agreement, expiring in September; but that the executive officers should take up with the coal owners the question of modifying and improving the agreement. Affiliation with the Red Trade Union International was overwhelmingly defeated. The whole tendency of the unions is toward a policy of caution and peace.

“REVOLUTIONARY” COOPERATION

THE Cooperative Movement is achieving no less than a “revolution”—“so fundamental, vital and transforming is the change it is effecting in the economic structure of society.” Thus declared Miss Llewellyn Davies, first woman president of a British Cooperative Congress, at Brighton in late June. The two leading ideas back of the movement are making for this revolution: “**The abolition of profit-making and democratic control.**” Internationalism was a chief note in the discussions, particularly the development of international cooperation. In 1914 the International Cooperative Alliance went to pieces in the Great War. It has since been reconstructed and put back on its feet; but

not to the satisfaction of the British movement, which pays in from 40 to 50 per cent of the International's total income. The investigation ordered by the previous congress is to be continued, particularly in regard to the extent to which the various International Wholesale Societies have taken advantage of their opportunities to trade and aid each other since the Armistice, and the present basis of British representation and contribution.

The month before the Brighton meeting the French cooperatives and the Italian cooperatives held their annual meetings, the former at Marseilles, the latter at Milan. **The French wholesale cooperatives put plans into effect to start a large cooperative bank, with a capital stock of 11 million francs.** This gives a glimpse of the vigor of European cooperation in the face of the great depression.

THAT RED TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL

LATE June also saw two great gatherings of European trade unions—the first congress of the French “Left Wing” Confederation of Labor and the 11th three-yearly meeting of the German Trade Union Congress. As was to be expected, the question, “**Shall we or shall we not join the Red Trade Union International?**” played a large part in the former meeting. It is the question, which, like the proverbial kitten, bobs up at almost every important conference of European labor. The “Left Wing” Confederation was formed in December, 1921, by those unions which seceded from the old General Confederation of Labor. Its strength was shown to be 350,000 members, 71 unions and 44 federations; represented at the meeting by 60 delegates.

After a tug of war between the **Communists and Anarchists** over affiliation with Moscow, marked by a spirited and caustic debate, the former won, 741 to 406. This caused the resignation of Totti, Anarchist, as General Secretary; but the Anarchists did not bolt the Congress, as had been predicted. They decided to remain with the Communists, and to work out the salvation of “left” French labor in a united effort.

Industrial Unionism in Germany

At Leipzig, where the German Congress met, the big issue was **Industrial versus Craft Unionism**. The report of the Executive officers favored craft unionism as the most effective for organizing purposes, and, while recommending gradual amalgamation, deplored any rapid movement toward industrial unionism. The Congress, however, defeated this recommendation and, voted, 465 to 163, for a sweeping resolution pledging the Congress to industrial unionism in the large industries. The executive officers were instructed “to prepare, at their earliest possible moment, a plan for the organic structure of industrial unions, which plan should then be submitted for further consideration to the trade unions concerned.” The Congress also voted for withdrawal from the Joint Industrial Councils—on which the employers are also represented—but the executive officers held that the majority vote represented less membership than the minority, and refused to be bound by the decision. On the question of general policy, however, the executive officers were upheld by a large vote, and all were reelected for another term.

BOOK NOTES

Edited by PRINCE HOPKINS

TWO books recently published on the subject of WAR, are John Kenneth Turner's *Shall It Be Again?* (B. W. Huebsch, Inc.), and Dr. G. F. Nicolae's *The Biology of War* (Century Co.)

Of these the average reader will feel that the former is a little too inclined to attribute to Wilson a deliberate desire to trick the American people, tho indeed in support of this thesis it marshals an astonishing amount of evidence. Its frequent quotations of Wilson for and against every proposition make most amusing reading. The book succeeds powerfully in showing how **big business was the force which willed the recent war upon the American people**, and the sole beneficiary thereof.

Dr. Nicolae's book is a translation from the German. It deals, therefore, more with the problems of the German peoples. The chief contentions, are, however, of necessity such as interest a world-wide audience. The scope is, in fact, far greater than the title word, "Biology," implies, for Dr. Nicolae shows how war blights every field of human life.

A third book on the issues of the war which deserves particular mention is Albert Jay Nock's *The Myth of a Guilty Nation* (B. W. Huebsch). Its evidence is based on official documents of the Allied Governments. It is brief, concise, and written in a clear, simple style. Even the most hurried reader, therefore, can gain from it a good view of the plottings and maneuverings of all the imperialistic governments that led up to the war. In marshalling his evidence to show that Germany alone did not bring on the conflict, the author leaves the impression that the French and English governments were much more culpable than the German. It is doubtful that this impression is correct—for all the statesmen were busy hastening the catastrophe. But the little book shows beyond question that the loudly proclaimed charge of the Allies that Germany was alone guilty is an unfounded myth—and, what is more, a lie.

* * *

A VERY human and unusual account of Russia is that given by Marguerite E. Harrison. (*Marooned in Moscow*, Geo. H. Doran Co., 1921). She was confined for ten months in a Bolshevik prison without thereby being embittered against the Communist regime. She details many cases in which the severity with which dictatorship subordinated individual rights to governmental expediency couldn't make the people change their old customs for better ones, but only embittered them against the new. Nevertheless, she concludes her story with the expressed belief "that our only sane policy from the political and the economic as well as from the humanitarian standpoint is cooperation to the fullest possible extent with the Soviet Government."

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